44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

corn, but here it is usually reenforced with a *balakkuwít* (hoops of strips of bamboo).

Tobacco is sown in January or February, transplanted in March or April, and picked in April or May.

Tobacco seeds are sown (*magbonóbon*) in a small plot of ground set apart for the purpose. While the seeds are sprouting and the seedlings (*bonóbon*) are growing, the Isneg have ample time to prepare the field (*magbakáń*).

Besides the observation of the size of the seedlings, the natives possess a *taxímmatón* or sign for transplanting tobacco in the ripening of the small red fruits of the *diñánăy*, a herbaceous vine found all over the district.

When the time for transplantation has come, the seedlings are grubbed up (*magba-dút*) and brought to the *bakáń*. Here they are thrust into holes (*magtuná-*) bored in the ground mostly by means of the *itutuná-* (dibble). Whenever possible the Isneg women use *itutuná-* made from *tálań* (pitch pine), because its sweet odor is supposed to influence the aroma of the tobacco.

One or more of the following amulets should be placed next to the first seedling (*bonóbon*) that is being transplanted (*magtuná-*):

Apnás: A very low herb with round leaves; it grows almost anywhere.

Aróro-: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small glossy entire leaves; it is found in rocky places.

Dalímag: A low herb; it grows in gardens.

Branches of *subrăy*, a shrub with yellow-and-green leaves; it is cultivated for ornamental purposes.

Taxibáńon (incorrectly *taximbáńon*), *tagabáńon* (Bayag pronunciation) or *báńon*: An amaranthaceous herb, some three feet tall, with dark-red leaves, light-red underneath. It is cultivated for ornamental purposes, and planted (not simply placed) next to the first *bonóbon* in order to cause the tobacco leaves to take on the same hue and the stalks to grow strong. The same names sometimes refer to another amaranthaceous herb with small leaves of different colors, red, green and white, also cultivated and used for the same purposes, ornamental and magical.

To protect the tender seedlings from the scorching heat of the sun, they are covered with leaves of the *anitáp*, or, in places where the *anitáp* is taboo, they are surrounded by short sections of canes of

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

bamboo grass stuck in the ground in a slanting way. The *anitâp* is a very common tree; its flowers are white.

It is customary to place *xappidân* next to the last *bonóbon* (seedling) that has been transplanted, so that the tobacco may reach a strong and healthy growth. The *xappidân* is a herb, some eight inches tall; it is found in forested areas.

Other amulets that may be used in the *bakân* (tobacco field) are:

Leaves of the *dañlá* (Cordyline terminalis [L.] Kunth.), the ti or palm lily, on account of their red color. The ti or palm lily is much used all over the Mountain Province in connection with pagan sacrifices, and the leaves play a prominent part in the ornaments displayed by dancers.

Talimáñāg (Clerodendron sp.), a tall herb with beautiful red flowers and round leaves, growing in forested areas. It causes the tobacco leaves to become red when they are mature.

Padâyaw: A herb, some eight inches tall, found in forests. It causes people to admire and praise (*dāyáwan*) the tobacco.

Dalúyāg: A low herb, growing almost anywhere. It prevents the tobacco from being attacked by harmful insects and worms.

If, nevertheless, the tobacco field has been invaded by worms, one must have recourse to the *amrâs* to drive them away. The *amrâs* is a small herb with blue flowers; it has a very offensive smell and grows almost in any place.

Tobacco is one of the few products exported by the Isneg on a large scale and it is comparatively little used for home consumption: indeed, chewing betel is much more common than smoking. It is frequently resorted to, however, for poisoning fish, and so even low grades of tobacco are sometimes encountered in the *bakân*, for instance the *damêro*, a variety with large leaves, not much esteemed for smoking purposes.

When the tobacco has almost attained its full growth, the Isneg prune the stalks (*magkapún*), nipping off the buds that grow in the axils, and the younger leaves, in order to improve the quality of the older leaves.

As soon as a certain amount of leaves are completely mature, they are culled (*magátu*) by the women, who pick them with their fingers.

The first leaves to be gathered are the lower ones, the *anây*, which are not much esteemed: they rarely affect a smoker with giddiness. The *palâyug*, growing higher up, are considered the best.